[281] The *chief*, having appointed a day on which the ceremonies shall begin, sends a messenger with a fowl to a medicine-man whom he asks to conduct the ceremonies. The medicine-man is called n'wishila " he of the tails." He carries his medicines stuffed in the tail-skin of a goa or zebra and we shall see that his tail or tails play a very important part. Having sent word back to the *chief* of his acceptance of the invitation, he gets his wife to prepare some fresh castor-oil with which he will remake his medicines, and sends out the boys of the village to collect firewood. A big bonfire is made and dancing goes on all that night in his village. Early next morning he returns to the door of his hut where his wife hands him his " tails." He then immediately departs for the village of the chief. His wife trills with her tongue, this being the sign of his departure, and dancing men, some friend (often his brother) who acts as his *chief* assistant, his wife, and others will go with him.

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[537] He signals his approach to the *chief's* village by singing:

"*Ka mun'ho nguim, nguim'mi Tingwishi!*"
"You at the village! I don't be long!"

As he enters the village, all the women hail his arrival by trilling the tongue (ku-kukula). He goes straight to the open space in front of the chief's house where the *chief* meets him. The *chief* immediately goes into his house and producing a cloth, gives it to the n'wishila who then places his " tail " on the ground, (ukubika, "things put down"); these are the signs of the compact. A house is given to the n'wishila wherein he may rest and sleep.

That night, all the mothers of the boys who are to undergo their initiation, now called wali (sing. wasali), pound flour for the morrow. Early the next morning, the n'wishila visits the place where the pounding is going on and collects a little flour from each woman's basket into a small basket he himself carries.

The *chief* then gives him a cock and a hen, an axe and a hoe; with these he goes off accompanied by the fathers of the wali to the spot where *Lupanda* will be made. Arrived there, he first points out the spot where his own hut is to be erected. This is quickly built, followed by the shelters for the wali.

The cock and hen are then killed and cooked, also some porridge; the native fowl is cooked; the liver is not cooked separately. When it is ready, the n'wishila takes a piece of the liver from the pot and some porridge from the other pot together in one hand and then throws them into a little hole where his " tail " has been resting. At this spot, *Lupanda* is made. The n'wishila then partakes of both again and eats; after he has finished, the other men eat.

[538] After the building of the shelters is finished, fire-wood is collected. On the roofs of the grass shelters figures of animals in grass may be strung up on poles, but they have no definite significance.

In the meantime in the village, the *chief* has had *nkuyani* (unwanted flour) prepared. It is made from millet by his head wife, who must not be near a menstrual period.

3: Stanner D-5 (ca. 1932) 1932 FT? Yao FT?

as to procuring medicine for him from a medicine-man. If the caster of lots is suspicious that some one has caused the illness, he will at the same time add, "Let us and so pray," mentioning the name of the man whom he suspects. Following the advice given, the medicine-man is consulted. He promises to get medicine for the sick man and goes into the forest to search for it. Having returned, he prepares his decoctions and having first partaken of a little himself, he gives it to his patient with further instructions. The friends of the sick man having returned to the village, indirectly ask the man on whom suspicion has been cast to pray for the sick man saying, "He is covered by some spirit." The man prays, sometimes using *mkoyani* and beginning *shambi! shambi!* "please! please!" and goes on to ask *Mlungu* to take away the spirit which has covered the sick man, adding that he himself is innocent of any ill doing against the man and that any grudge he may have had against him is now forgotten.

If the sick man recovers, well and good, but should he die, there is more to be done. The morning following the burial, the relatives go to the *chief* and in answer to his inquiry of what they are going to do, they say they must again consult the caster-of-lots. They will choose some one who lives a long way off and is not cognizant of the death of their relatives: those who go to him have not been shaved after the funeral. Much the same business is gone through as on the first occasion but, in the end, the caster-of-lots is told that they suspect some one unknown to have brought about the death of their relatives. The names of all the possible persons are given, the lots cast in each case and, eventually, one is picked out as the guilty man; the caster-of-lots saying, "If I am not telling the truth, you can test my words by giving *mwavi* (ordeal poison) to a fowl; if it does not die, come back and break up all my properties."

He may have gained information from his lots that the suspect is a man of power gained by some special rite, e.g. the midnight bath on the ant hill, in which case he will insist that the fowl poison-ordeal must take place on an ant hill or he will give other specific instructions. On the way back, the relatives will buy two fowls; *mwavi* will be prepared by a boy who has not passed through his initiation ceremonies, and two of the party will be chosen as pleaders, one for the deceased, the other for the accused. One fowl is then selected to represent the accused and the poison administered according to the conditions laid down by the lot-thrower, while the two pleaders give injections to it, one saying, "You are guilty; you shall die"; the other, "You are innocent and you shall show your innocence by vomiting the poison and recovering." If the fowl dies, a third man cuts off its head, saying, "I am the buster of the dead." *Mwavi* is then administered to the second fowl to ascertain whether any other persons are involved. The head of the first fowl is singed, stuck on a stick and carried back with the party towards their village. A little way outside, they halt in the bush, and send word to the headman that they are returning. He then comes out privately to see them, asking what has happened, and is told all the events in sequence.

3: Stearns D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Yao FT?

village had its regular place of torture and mwavi drinking, two or three miles from the village. Those used by Makenya, the old Zomba chief, may still be seen.

A shear way is made two feet broad and fourteen feet long in the bush and here the accused takes up his position attended on either side by the two pleaders, the defending pleader on the right, the prosecuting on the left. Facing east or west or following the directions originally given by the caster-of-lots, that is, taking up the position in which the accused is supposed to take a midnight bath, or practise some rite under a tree or an ant hill, etc., he is given a decoction of mwavi to drink from a gourd. This decoction is made on the spot, the bark being pounded up on a stone by one of the prosecutors. The accused must have had no food that day. He then starts to walk up and down the short cleared path with the two men, one on either side of him, the one saying, "Now you have drunk mwavi, you shall die as you deserve; you did in fire-and-die," the other denying the accusations, saying, "He shall vomit the poison." He is watched by the assembled crowd who note the various symptoms of which vomiting is the first and said to be the most characteristic. After this has gone on for some time, they watch for what is called the sponge which is said to be "a ball of bile formed in the mouth and expelled by vomiting so that it bursts on reaching the ground but not before", followed often by a second ball, twenty minutes later. Should this be expelled, recovery may be expected, foreshadowed by clearing of the vision. If he recovers, he is indeed a wonderful man and is hailed on all sides. The women trill with their tongues and shout, and he is carried back in triumph; the defending pleader will swagger about and demand anything he wants for his client.

A fatal termination is characterized by little and non-forcible vomiting. Purging is common but said to be painless. Vision is affected and as time goes on, the spectators ask what he can see. "Do you see that cow there?" indicating a hill. If he makes mistakes, then they say, "Ah, he is going to die!"

The poison may not take full effect for three or four hours. The end is ushered in by a last stage when the legs become weak; he staggers, then unable to stand any longer, falls to the ground dead, executed by the onlookers who rush in and hurl stones upon the body, crushing it. The relatives take the mangled corpse and lay it on logs covered with grass in the bush. No other covering is permitted. It may be placed in a tree by people acting as such. Burial is forbidden.

In some cases mwavi used to be burned, not being given the chance of the poison trial. This took place at a recognized spot like others. The last case to be burned by Makenya was Mtelela in 1892. Burning was also a punishment in some bad cases of murder. Such was the fate of Chingale. The man was put in a shew-stick, a pile of logs was built round him and then set on fire.

Witch-finder. In addition to ordeal poison, another method of discovering a mwavi is by "smelling out." If a number of people have died in a certain village, the inhabitants may begin to think that there is a mwavi among them, and procure the services of a witch-finder.

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Mbinakila is a Chinyanja word from *ku-bina*, "to hide," referring to his custom of hiding in the village; the practise is originally Mang'anja, since adopted by the Yao. *Mbinakila* is often a woman and may be young.[1] She comes to stay in the village unknown to the people, lives in a watch house in the gardens and is said to go about at night when she is able to summon *masui* persons from their houses. The fee for her services is paid beforehand. Later, the villagers are assembled and going round the company holding out flour in her hand, she calls upon *Ilo-and-Ilo* as the guilty man saying, "This is his 'night-name.'" The villagers all answer, "There is no one of that name in the village." She then goes round again and throwing the flour over the accused, utters his ordinary name and runs off into the bush, not to appear again. The accused may then offer to take *masui* (ordeal poison) to prove his innocence or if it is a case of illness only and not death, he may be treated by a medicine man, the process being called *ku-lopokela*, "to take evil things out of."

A *masui* man is sometimes said to renounce his old practises and may then be received into the company of *mbinakila*. A famous *mbinakila* near Zomba affirms that he used to be *masui*. The mode of action of *mbinakila* varies greatly with different men; for some the ceremony is quite a minor matter; in other cases, it is an important affair.

Witch-destroyer. Where death is suspected to have resulted from *masui*, steps may be taken immediately to catch and kill the *masui*. For this purpose, the help of the *msondo jasenkenda* is sought. *Ku-sekenda* means "to break off the end of a stick"; it appears to be both a Chinyanja and a Chiyao word. The word refers to the practise of the professional witch-killer who is supposed to run a stick through the anus up the bowel of his victim and then break it off, leaving part inside. The *jasenkenda* having been informed of the approaching funeral hides in the bush near the graveyard and watches the interment. After everyone has gone, he is free to put in operation that for which he has been called. The following *modus operandi* is related of a celebrated *msondo jasenkenda* called Angoni of Zomba. The water in which the corpse had been first washed was obtained and put in an earthenware dish. He also provided himself with a gourd containing medicines and some stones, and another gourd filled with poison made from crocodile gall to anoint the *sekenda* sticks. He also had a small antelope's horn containing medicine which when smeared on the head rendered him invisible, together with the stalks of a species of millet called *nkolwe* which sheds its grains at a touch, and a whistle made from the horn of a small antelope, the *ntiti*.

So provided, he proceeded to the grave, around which he drew a ring with medicine contained in still another horn. Within this circle, all was safe. This was followed by a square immediately around the grave with a stone from the gourd placed at each side, north, south, east and west. The plate of water was placed on top of the grave. The *msondo jasenkenda* then anointed himself with the medicine which made him invisible to the *masui*

[1] Cf. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

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and sitting within the circle, he blew his whistle which was irresistible to the *nsusi* man who was then induced to come out of his house. When he had reached the grave, the water was sprinkled over him by the *jumbetete* with the millet stalk from the dish on the grave, or he was struck with the gnu's tail; in either case, he fell to the ground senseless. He was then ready to be dealt with. The *sekitete* sticks, small bamboos filled with crocodile poison, were pushed up the anus and broken off to liberate the poison. Sticks might also be inserted behind the ear or in various other spots. The *nsusi* was then beaten to wake him up; he ran off to his own village and there, a little later, he sickened and died, telling no one the cause. After death, the *mulo* when preparing the corpse of the hitherto unsuspected *nsusi*, might find the end of the stick projecting from the anus or see the punctures elsewhere with the medicine adhering to them, and the man was revealed in his true colors.

At Mtwiche's village, there was a man called Liunga who professed to be able to extract the poison injected by the *jumbetete* by causing his patients to undergo a vapor bath and to drink certain decoctions. This man would never reveal the name of anyone who came to him for treatment but would brag that "trade was brisk." The symptoms of the mortal malady caused by the *sekitete* are said to be intestinal obstruction with tremendous distention of the abdomen (peritonitis).

Of this same village, a story is told which, if not true, at all events illustrates the sort of thing that is believed. As has been mentioned above, whenever the *jumbetete* blows his little horn, any *nsusi* will hear it and thinking it is one of their band calling, will go to meet him. A woman of this village told how she and her husband were sitting over the fire while the evening meal was cooking, when he suddenly jumped up and said he must go outside for a bit. She remonstrated and asked him to wait for his food, but he hurried off. Later he returned, complaining of feeling very ill; his belly swelled up and he died soon after. It was said that this man was very friendly with a woman named Abibi and that when he went out into the bush, he was heard calling in a low voice, "Is that you, Abibi?" When his body was examined, two punctures were found on the left side of the chest. It was supposed that it was Abibi he expected to meet and with her enjoy a cannibalistic repast, whereas it was a *jumbetete* who had called and killed him.

This brief outline of a case of sickness, suspicion of witchcraft, death, and the consultation with the caster-of-lots, the witch-finder, ordeal poison, death, and the catching of the cannibal witch, has been given as a more or less consecutive story in order that it may be most easily understood. Some further details concerning the lot-caster, witchcraft, etc., must be added.

Lot-casting. Medicine men who cast lots were at one time fairly plentiful and were consulted on many matters, often of small importance from a European point of view. Chief of all were questions of witchcraft. The *modus operandi* varied in different cases. In *nsusi* and other important matters, the medicine man always used the *chisango* (divining in-

Witch-medicine. The making of medicine against people has been shown to occupy an essential place in *usoni*, and it plays an important part in all occultism. So by insensible grades, the ordinary use of drugs in common diseases is reached, though it is probable that very much greater faith is placed in a packet of burnt roots put under the floor of the house than in the efficacy of any concoction taken by mouth.

There is a general belief that by medicine extra ability verging into supernatural power can be acquired. This power in a general sense is represented by the word *ukoma* and a man so possessed is spoken of as *munthu jwa kwamba*. The desire for increased power may be a perfectly natural one, such as a desire for influence and popularity as a chief, or on the other hand, the power of *usoni* may be aimed at, or again, the knowledge of magic medicine for thieving or for any other practice. *Ukoma* is, therefore, a relative matter. The necessary medicine or initiation into the understanding of magic can be purchased from persons already practitioners, the honest herbalist merging by imperceptible degrees into the most criminal witch-doctor. A single practitioner may prescribe a charcoal dressing for an ulcer, exorcise an evil spirit by a vapor bath, sell medicine to enable the buyer to win a case at court, arrange medicine on a pathway to act as a selective love potion, or prescribe a drug to change a man into a lion.

Deserving of special mention are the people who thieve by the aid of medicine which they have either purchased or prepared themselves. Such a man is called *chitaka* and the medicine *mtaka wa chitaka*. The active principle of this medicine is said to be prepared from the tail of a hyaena, an animal which is said to be able to enter a house where people are sleeping and kill and carry off the fowls without waking the occupants. The medicine is often carried in a hyaena's tail. The *chitaka* is supposed to approach the house he would rob and chewing some medicine in the mouth, gently blow towards it to put everyone to sleep. The door is supposed to unfasten itself and the thief is free to take what he wishes. He is even said to kill, cook, and eat food in the house while the inmates remain unconscious. A special characteristic of the *chitaka* is that whatever he lays his hands on in the house he must remove, though he does not want it, so that in the morning many unwieldy, useless objects may be found outside the hut.

There are many other magic medicines. One of these, *lwanga*, if introduced into a village, will cause the illness and death of some inmate. Anyone handling the body of the sick man or the corpse after death, sickens and dies until the whole village is wiped out. There is a man serving a life sentence now at the Central Prison, Zomba, who was convicted of having caused the death of many people in a village in Angoniland. He is said cheerfully to have admitted the power of his medicine.

Medicine made from a cousin is supposed to be efficacious in various ways. The blood of a cousin is instilled into the ear for otorrhoea. Drinking the water which has been used by a cousin to wash his face relieves intestinal colic. Medicine is made from the hairs of the beard of a cousin or from an *mbilo* and used for chest trouble.

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832 *Mpasi* is a love potion. Men are often anxious that women should ask them for love (*ku-pasa*). A man seeing a woman whom he fancies, takes up some of the dust where she has trodden and mixing this with medicine puts it in his hair. If he meet her again, though he takes no notice of her, she will come to him.

789 241 [826] When crops are harvested, a layer of the cereal is laid at the bottom of the corn-store, and *unsa*, which consists of medicines contained in the skull of or made from the body of a still-born infant, is then put in and the store filled. In this way, he who has only a small garden may be sure that his grain will last a long time. Similar medicine is put in gardens with the first rains to insure heavy crops. A man on the approach of the planting season should never give away seed to anyone until his own seed is put in or it may bring bad luck to his crop. This is evidently a superstition arising from the fact that if he gives seed away, he may not have enough left to raise a crop sufficient to support his family. Some people are considered "lucky at planting pumpkins, other people when they plant, reap only watery pumpkins." A man, therefore, will often ask one of the lucky people to plant his pumpkins for him. My hospital boy always got the cook to plant his pumpkins.

789 824 A man wishing to become a person of importance, with a village of his own, takes a medicine made from a certain tree and then builds his hut in a new place, hoping people will flock to him. The tree is known as *ekukambili*. Another medicine, taken in the belief that people will flock to a man in consequence, is made from the bush called *mtola*. *Cf. litula* planted at the threshold to attract visitors.

789 791 Conjuring. There are other performances akin to magic in the eyes of the natives, which I have never had the opportunity of witnessing but which would appear to be of the nature of juggling or possibly hypnotism; some resemble the tricks of jugglers; others are more like some of the performances in India. I naturally supposed that they had been learned from men at the coast (Zanzibar), but I am assured that they belong to the Yao themselves.

Kambenje, a Yao of Chiradzulu, well-known at dances and *Unyago*, after some preliminary dancing, stands still and is covered by a cloth; when the cloth is again removed, he is discovered with a number of squealing puppies held in his loin cloth, which he then hands round. He begins to dance again and the persons to whom the puppies have been given watch him and then find they are holding earthenware, not puppies. Or mud-fish are handed round and the people find they are holding women's diapers.

Another trick often performed by Kambenje was the burial of a man in the ground, covered up completely with earth; at the sounding of the drums the buried man comes running in from the back of the watching crowd.

Kasonga, a Yao of Malemya's, priest, and medicine man, after an *Unyago* ceremony used to put on his red blanket and walk over the hot embers of an enormous fire in the village open space. He admitted that he smeared himself with medicine and an eyewitness told me that when he put his feet on the hot logs, it caused a sizzling sound.

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Tingulinga was another well-known performer; he used to do the same tricks as Kambanje. He also was possessed of an elastic skin and is said to have been able "to tie his ears together behind the back of his head." 789 791

Mpechetula, a Yao of Mkanda, is a man with considerable renown. He is said to be able to produce a lion at will from a lion's tail and claw. He would offer to show this if there were any brave enough to go through with it. On a moonlight night, he would expose on the ground in a cleared space near a village the tail of a lion held cross-wise in a piece of split bamboo. At the split end of the bamboo, he would place a lion's claw and round this, a woman's belt held in position by three bamboo pegs, around which he would draw a circle of mbepesi flour. Everyone would then withdraw to a hut in which the seance was to take place. After an hour or so, Mpechetula would send some one out to inspect the lion's tail where probably all would be found intact. He might then pretend to be uninterested and sleepy and suggest that some one should go out again in half an hour. Sooner or later, a man would come back, having found the tail gone; then everyone would go out to see what had happened. The pegs would be found in place but the tail and claw gone. A little way off, the split piece of bamboo would be found and further still a bead or two from the woman's belt. These, Mpechetula would pick up, and leaving a little trail of flour on their way, all returned to the hut, while he whistled as if calling some one. Suddenly they would be aroused by the sound as of a lion brushing against the hut walls, as the beasts are known to do, and next, a loud roar. Mpechetula would immediately open the door half-way so that the people could look out into the moonlight and there, a little way off, would be the lion. It would immediately advance towards the house and then, as it prepared to spring for the door, Mpechetula would offer it some of the flour in his left hand, armed with a stirring-stick, mako, in his right hand. As the lion landed, he would strike it on the head with the stick and lo and behold! the lion would vanish and the tail and claw would be found in his hand.

Superstitions. Scattered throughout these notes, particularly under *Usoni* and *Disease*, mention is made of practices which show a strong belief in superstition. Below are given a number of minor beliefs, and it is interesting to compare them with many well-known superstitions in other parts of the world. 771 784

1. A child who cuts the upper incisor teeth first will be unlucky. Such children used to be killed by the Yao. (Other tribes make medicine against the threatened ill-luck.) [777]

2. A woman with polydactylism may not take food out of a corn-store. Otherwise the stock of corn will not last long. (Rudimentary sixth fingers are not uncommon.) [732]

3. An insect called *chinyen. mesi* which lives in the mud at the bottom of pools, if killed causes the water to dry up. [823]

4. If a boy puts a water-spider in the armpit when learning to swim, he will learn quickly.

5. A man wishing to prevent rain falling on a day he is making a journey, will wrap some of the leaves of the *mimosoni* tree in his loin cloth and go without drinking. [824]

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824 778 be supposed to live in such trees. They are convenient natural objects for them to occupy, in fact practically the only ones to be found in villages. Trees may secondarily, therefore, be looked upon as in some degree sacred. About such trees strings or pieces of calico may be placed as an offering to the spirits of the departed. But the Yao do not erect little huts in their vicinity, hung about with strips of calico as is the custom among the Anyanja.

775 Macdonald[1] mentions the spirits in connection with Soche and other hills round Blantyre and supposes them to be the spirits of the places themselves. This I think is unlikely; they would probably turn out to be spirits bearing the names of long departed Anyanja chiefs whom the immigrant Amangoche Yao venerated just "to be on the safe side," since they had come and taken the country which long ago belonged to the former tribe. When approaching or passing any spot held to be the dwelling place of spirits, salutation is made by clapping the hands.

Spirits of the departed may enter into animals or may take the form of animals, commonly lions and sometimes large snakes (python), but this belief is not so general among the Yao as among other tribes, in my opinion. An animal which is so possessed is called *liyuka*, from *ku-yuka*, "to be transformed." [825]

Apart from this habitation of inanimate objects above mentioned by *maimu*, there is nothing that points to a belief in Animism among the Yao, so far as I know. Neither hills, rocks, streams, lakes, nor trees have their own spirits, nor are they endowed by the native mind with life. [774]

Deceased persons appear to the living in dreams, the native apparently believing that the deceased appears in his material body.

775 787 They believe also in revelation of wishes of the deceased through the medium of the living. The spirit of the deceased is supposed to enter into the medium. The medium, I am informed, is always a woman, never a man. From the descriptions of some of these ● 791 revelation séances, there can be no doubt that they are manifestations of *la grande hystérie*. The medium works herself up into a frenzy of excitement and in her delirium gives out the name of the deceased, the voice which speaks being that of the spirit within her. She rolls on the ground and foams at the mouth, uttering the word of revelation which is generally to the effect that some deceased chief's spirit is feeling aggrieved at the neglect of his tomb; the voice may go on to say that certain practices are forbidden, or demand that certain rites be observed by the people. The spirits which possess her are generally spoken of as *masoka*, a word which, though sometimes used as equivalent to *maimu*, usually seems to have rather a sinister significance. [158] Insane persons are called *masoka* and are thought to be possessed by a spirit, and vapor baths with exorcism may be practiced for their cure. In the case of the death of anyone who is possessed, in answer to my interrogation, I have been told that both the spirit which has entered into the man and his own *maimu* leave his body. [761]

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 78.

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As an example of another kind of intermediary may be mentioned a woman called Bimbi Chikasowa, who, though an Anyanja, was well known among the Yao of Zombe. She was consulted on many occasions about the future, about rain, or the prevention of disease. She was a woman of quiet ways and greatly respected; she had no fixed abode but was received everywhere and given food and shelter. She would sometimes disappear from the district and travel to far distant places. A son, born to her when a young woman, was lately a patient under my care, a man of about forty-eight. On one occasion she was consulted about an epidemic of ulcers among the people near Zomba. She asked all the people from the villages to go down to Lake Shirwa and to take a white fowl with them. When they had all collected, she appeared, carrying in each hand a little gourd containing *mbepesi* flour, and a small open basket on her head. She took the fowl in one hand and then proceeded to walk into the water, saying she would have to go to a little hill on an island in the lake called *Chidia Mpiri* and that she would come back in three days. She then walked on into the water and disappeared below its surface. In three days time, she returned to the village and said that the women must give up dancing the *chiponda* dance for twelve months and all would be well.

On other occasions she usually worked along similar lines. Consulted as to whether or not some sick person would recover, she always answered with the same formula, if she thought he would die, "The house is prepared for him and medicine would avail nothing!"

There are certain other supernatural persons or spirits to which reference must be made. *Chimela-mesi* has been mentioned above. *Manunu*, a word which Hetherwick translates as "madness, idiocy,"[1] really refers to the delusions and hallucinations which form part of the perceptions of the insane. The word also has the meaning of obsession, phobia, and intuition; thus the natives say of an ox about to be slaughtered that shows signs of realizing the approaching evil, "it has *manunu*." On the other hand, they say the hartebeest is a foolish animal that does not know what to do when hunted: "it has *manunu*, it is a deluded animal." Again, the baboon and the crow "have *manunu*"; they are possessed of senses or faculties which warn them of the approach of any enemies before they can be seen or heard; they cannot be stalked. In all these cases, the crowd of hallucinatory men pursuing some melancholic, the rats of the delirium tremens patient, and that which appears to warn the crow or the baboon, are all *manunu* and are, I think, supposed by the natives to have some kind of materialistic form.

Ndodocha: when the *usasui*[2] do not wish immediately to devour the body of a deceased person which they have raised from the grave, they cut off the arms and legs at the elbows and knees and insert medicine into the stumps; these living-dead are then compelled by the *usasui* to live in caves and hollow ant hills during the day and to follow them at night in their travels, "like a herd of goats," to be eaten as required. The *ndondocha* may be heard as they wander along in the night, making sounds like a cat's mew. A woman will

[1] Yao language, op. cit., p. 238. [2] Vide supra, p. 292.

3: Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

never leave any food outside at night, not even the chaff from the grain she has been pounding, lest these most miserable of beings be attracted by it.

Chitowe is a word common to several tribes and among them appears to have various shades of meaning. Among the Wayao, the *itowe* are "the little people" of the leprechaun order. They rob the gardens and cause rot among the pumpkins; their little footprints can be seen where they have passed hither and thither; fruits and vegetables that they touch will become bitter. To prevent these disasters, the Yao, at the time when their crops are ripening, place different kinds of vegetables at cross-roads, hoping thereby to satisfy the *itowe* and prevent them coming into the gardens. As far as I am aware, the *itowe* have nothing to do with famine and are in no way connected with *Mtanga*, to be mentioned below, as Macdonald believed.[1] The *chitowe* is variously said to be "like a man but rather like an animal." He has two legs but goes on all fours.

The Yao describe another legendary race of "little people" who used to live in this country and who may still be met with, — "who knows?" They were of a very small stature, grew long beards, were very touchy, quarrelsome, and fierce, and carried spears. When anybody met one, he was immediately asked: "*M'umbonele kwapi?*", "From how far did you see me?" and it was always well to pretend to have seen the little man coming a long way off and make him believe he was considered quite a big person; if you said "Hullo, I have only just spotted you!", he would immediately spear you. They are commonly supposed to dwell on the tops of high mountains and are iron workers. They are called the *M'umbonele kwapi*.

There is no relation as far as I know between these two classes of "little people," but I think these stories go to uphold the theory recently reiterated by Hastings Guilford in his Hunterian Lecture (1914) that folk-lore fables of hobgoblins, etc., have a basis in fact. He believes that dwarf races at one time were to be found, possibly over a very wide area of the globe. In this country, I think it may be that one sees the transition from historical facts to true fairy stories.

The Anyanja have the same legend about these "little people," the *mwandi onwaluti* ("where-did-you-see-me"); it is indeed not only wide-spread throughout this country, (the Ahenga and Ankonde in North Nyasa district speak of the *mwandionenanku* who ask the same question), but there is a very similar legend among the Akikuyu in British East Africa.[2]

The *chitowe* is doubtless the *chirusi* of the Anyanja, mentioned in Scott's dictionary,[3] as Miss Werner[4] has supposed, for one finds that among the Anyanja at the southern end of the Protectorate, the *chitowe* is described as having only one side to his body so that he is invisible when viewed from the off side, thus resembling the *chirusi* who has one half of his body made of wax.

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 71. [2] M. W. H. Beech, 'Pre-Bantu occupants of East Africa,' (*Man*, London, 1915, p. 40-41).
[3] Op. cit., p. 97. [4] British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 32.